2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga*, ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before 304 they became *kaioi*. Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 837 8A [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 859

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

868 ●
866
857
[2737]

/24 cont./
alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

857

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village.

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case

864

[603]